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1. Introduction
2. Language Policy
3. Language Contact
4. Multilingualism
5. Language Change
6. Conclusion

1. Introduction

Many people know that Korean is the official language of the Republic of Korea (hereafter South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (hereafter North Korea). However, not many know that it is also a co-official language in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in China (hereafter Yanbian), an area of 42,700 square kilometers in Jilin province in the Northeastern China where approximately one million of China's ethnic Koreans reside. Yanbian has the largest Korean community outside of the two Koreas.

Approximately two million Koreans live in China today. About one million of them live in Yanbian, and the other million or so are mainly dispersed in the other parts of Northeastern China. The ancestors of the majority of these Koreans came to China in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century from Hamkyeng Do¹ in the northern Korean peninsula, and many of them settled in the Yanbian area. So, their Korean

¹ The names of places, titles of books and articles, and linguistic examples are presented in the Yale system of romanization, except phonemic forms.

is genetically based on Hamkyeng Do dialect, not other dialects such as Seoul Korean. They have led a relatively insulated life as a result of confluence of various geopolitical factors for most part of the last century. Most notably, their contact with their homeland was cut off (except for a brief period when they fought in the Chinese army on the side of the North Koreans during the Korean War) as Korea split into two and each side aligned with two superpowers neither of which was considered a true ally by China during the Cold War period.

The long divide of the Korean peninsula since the end of the Korean War, and China's closed door foreign policy during the Cold War virtually insulated China's Koreans from the outside world, as it did to the entire China as a whole. Many Chinese Koreans had relatives in South Korea, but any exchange or contact with South Korea, a staunch ally of the "Imperialistic" USA, was out of the question. Contact between China's Koreans and North Korea, literally their fatherland and just miles away from Yanbian, was also virtually non-existent as shortly after the Korean War North Korea chose to align with the former Soviet Bloc from whom China broke ranks in the mid-fifties. China and South Korea normalized their relations in 1992, and the cultural exchanges between the two sides have been increasing in exponential terms since. North Korea, on the other hand, continues to exercise a tight, if not tighter, control over its populace and its border today and remains virtually closed to the outside world.

Living in China under the influence of a different language, culture, socio-political and economic system, the Koreans in Yanbian, China, have maintained a unique set of socio-linguistic attributes of their own. However, dramatic socio-political, economical, cultural changes have occurred during the last two decades. The following are four major factors effecting these changes:

- a. The influx of South Korean music into Yanbian starting from the early 80s from those who visited families in South Korea;
- b. The "Gold Rush" in South Korea from Yanbian Koreans from the mid-80s to present (some have immigrated to South Korea);

- c. The inflow of South Korean capital, from large conglomerates to small and medium-sized businesses alike, into China in the last decade;
- d. Increased official cultural and educational exchanges between South Korea and Yanbian.

These dynamic changes of social background resulted in Yanbian Koreans' increasing contacts with South Koreans. Subsequently, many Yanbian Koreans began to incorporate South Korean vocabulary, accent and expressions into their own language. Some went even further by attempting to emulate the South Korean life style.

Chinese government designated Yanbian as an autonomous region for China's ethnic Koreans in 1952, and the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Region came into being. Many Korean cultural and educational institutions were created in Yanbian in the following years. This, coupled with the fact that more than half of China's Koreans lived (and still live) in Yanbian, established Yanbian as the de facto cultural and educational center of the ethnic Koreans in China, and as such Korean spoken and used in Yanbian became the de facto official and representative Korean language used by China's Korean community. Therefore, I focused most of my field work in Yanbian. I will use Yanbian Korean to represent the Korean language in China in this paper.

There have been some previous studies on the Korean language in China by American, South Korean and Chinese scholars such as Chae-jin Lee (1986), Youngsoon Park (1987), Dongso Kim, et.al (1990), Haksek Cen (1999), Hyung-jae Lim (2001), and Xinqiu Guan (2001). Lee and Cen pay great attention on the education of ethnic Korean. Lim and Guan focus on the bilingualism. Park and Kim give more linguistic phenomenon in terms of heterogeneity from South Korean angle based on the dialectal and Chinese-influenced variations.

This paper will attempt to study the language of ethnic Korean in China from a sociolinguistic perspective. It will examine the changes to the Yanbian Korean and how they were related to South Korean influence in the last decade. This paper will demonstrate how these changes are

transforming Yanbian from a bilingual society into a multilingual one.

2. Language Policy

Language policy of a government or a nation has strong and deep impact on many aspects of an ethnic language such as standardization. Its impact on the lives of an ethnic community and their language in a society is even greater.

Per Coy (1992), China's policies on ethnic languages can be examined in four periods. This framework applies to the Korean language as well. So, we will examine the governmental policies and their impact on Korean language in China in the same time frame.

① The Golden Age of Korean Culture in China (1945-1958)

This period witnessed many important and historical changes for Koreans in China. Koreans started migrating into mostly unpopulated northeastern China from the late nineteenth century. They were hard working and became very productive members of their community. By the 1940s, they had their own communes all over the northeastern China, and in many cohabited areas they often outnumbered the natives. And, the area with the highest concentration of Koreans was Yanbian – about half a million Korean lived in Yanbian at the time. However, no Chinese governments prior to this period had officially acknowledged the Korean presence and subsequently there had no comprehensive national policies specifically regarding the welfare of the ethnic Korean in China.

This changed when Mao took over the Northeastern China from Jiang's nationalist party in 1945. Mao's communist government was the first Chinese government in over half a century to officially recognize the rights and welfare of the Koreans in China. A succession of events then followed.

In 1946, Yanji (the capital city of Yanbian, population 300,000) Broadcast Bureau was founded.

In 1947, Yanbian Education Press was founded.

In 1952, Yanbian University was founded.

In 1953, Beijing Ethnic Press was founded, of which Korean language was a big part.

One very important and traumatic event in the life of the Chinese Korean during this period was the Korean War (1950-1953). Many Korean-Chinese were pulled into this war on their ancestor's land. Chinese Koreans were recruited for this war mainly because they spoke Korean. Eager to show their patriotism and loyalty to their adopted country and believing that they would help defend their ancestral land against foreign invaders, Koreans in China responded enthusiastically. Tens of thousands of young Korean-Chinese fought in the Chinese army and many died in the war. This event, however tragic it was, marked the first ever full participation of China's Koreans in China's national affairs and helped raise their profile significantly.

On September 3rd 1952, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture was founded. Korean language became the co-official language along with Chinese in the region. Signs of business and governmental offices were by law to be in both languages with Korean coming first. Official meetings such as regional governmental meetings were to be organized in both languages with Korean being spoken first (a well meaning but not always followed decree in real life especially in organizations where there are significant number of Han-Chinese worker most of whom never endeavored to learn Korean).

Yanbian, in particular its capital city Yanji, was now officially the home to, and center of, Koreans in China. Many Korean intellectuals and educators from other parts of the country moved to Yanji. Many writers and poets emerged during this period. A "renaissance" of Korean culture and education started to take place in Yanbian. This period is considered by many Korean Chinese as a golden age in the history of their ethnic-cultural life in China.

② “Rectification Movement” Period (1958-1962)

During this time, some extremists in Chinese government pursued ideology-inspired integration policies against the minority nationalities and their languages. These policies aimed to gradually increase the influence of the Chinese language and culture over the minority languages by encouraging, and mandating in many cases, the increased integration of the Chinese language and its vocabulary into the minority languages. For the Korean language, this resulted in many new transliterated lexicons in its vocabulary. The sound of many of these new terms belongs to a different system from the Korean language, and incomprehensible to a Korean speaker who is from outside China.

③ Cultural Revolution Period (1966 -1976)

The Cultural Revolution was a devastating period for minority policy everywhere in China. Cultural extremists such as Mao's wife Jiang, and a few of her cohorts planned to have the minority languages including the Korean language dissolve within fifteen years. In elementary schools and middle schools, the Korean language lessons were reduced by half. In high schools, there had been practically no Korean language lessons at all. Even at the premier Korean university, Yanbian University, whose mandate was to provide higher education to Koreans and to preserve Korean culture and language in China and where Korean students and faculty accounted for more than sixty percent of the entire university population, the usage of Korean diminished drastically during this period. Yanbian University recruited Korean students nationwide in China. Many of these students have limited spoken Chinese proficiency. However, except for subject on modern Korean studies, Chinese language became the dominant language, replacing Korean language, and inadequate assistance was offered to those of limited Chinese language proficiency.

④ Post Cultural Revolution Period (1976 · Present)

Guided by new orientation toward minority policy, the Chinese government restored the use of minority language. Bilingual policy is restored. The standardization is based on the Korean language itself.

3. Language Contact

There are three phases under this concept in this paper:

- (1) Contact with the Chinese language as bilingualism;
- (2) Contact among the Korean dialects-based varieties in China;
- (3) Contact with Hankwuk mal (South Korean).

Although Korean migration to China can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, there had not been a reliable census data on their population until the communist took over power in the late 40s. By 1949, a census data indicated that Koreans had reached a critical mass in the Yanbian area: they accounted for more than sixty-three percent of the population in Yanbian. They were granted "autonomy" three years later, and Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture was established in 1952. This was the beginning of their self-governance and their participation as a full-fledged member in China's socio-economic and political life. This could also be considered the start of full language contact between Korean and Chinese officially. So, my study will cover the period from the 1950s and on.

The first empirical evidence of the official language contact between Korean and Chinese in Yanbian came in the form of official document translation in the early 1950s. Recognizing the presence of the Koreans in Yanbian and the limited Chinese proficiency of many of them, the communist Chinese government started printing official documents in both languages in 1952, in the year Yanbian was officially recognized as an autonomous region.

Leeⁱⁱ provided a detailed description of this language contact: "In 1952, the Yanbian People's Government decided to issue all official documents in both Chinese and Korean languages and to set up a government bureau to translate all Chinese documents into Korean. Each county government had staff members responsible for translation. Court documents and signs for railroad and bus stations and other public places were written in both languages. However, all publications in Korean script avoided Chinese characters except for scholarly works."

A main forum where the language contact took place has been schools. Korean schools started to devote five to six hours per week to Chinese language lessons from the second grade in elementary from the 50s. The Chinese lessons were taught mostly by Korean instructors during this period. With the ending of the Cultural Revolution and the resumption of the college entrance examination in the late 70s, the Chinese lesson intensified in the Korean schools. Statistics from the 80s show that Korean schools allocated more time to Korean lessons than Chinese lessons in elementary school, but more time on Chinese lesson than Korean lesson starting from middle school. The trend has changed since. Korean schools have accelerated and intensified the Chinese lessons. Chinese is now taught from the first grade, and some schools started using native Chinese instructors to teach Chinese. One school, Kongwen Elementary School, a Korean school in Yanji, went one step further in year 1999. They have designated two classes out of six in each grade for the first three grades as Hane Pan (Chinese class). All subjects except Korean are taught in Chinese by the Han Chinese (ethnic Han Chinese) teachers in these classes. The students from these Hane Pan, have demonstrated a much higher level of Chinese language proficiency than those who are in the regular classes.

The higher level of integration in school, coupled with the onslaught of mass media, has helped improve the younger Korean generation's Chinese language skills drastically. Unlike their parents' generation, the majority of

ⁱⁱ Lee 1986:67-8.

the younger generation today is fluent in Chinese.

While the intensified contact between Korean and Chinese languages is powerful force that influences the Korean language in China, Korean language in China also undergoes another dimension of language contact, the contact among the various varieties of Korean dialects within China.

The ancestors of the Korean immigrants in China came from different Dos (provinces) in Korea, so they brought along diverse dialects, and their descendants invariably inherited many of these dialects. Yanbian Korean is based on Hamkyeng dialect, a dialect spoken in the east of North Korea. The majority of Koreans in Liaoning (a province northwest of Jilin province) speak Phyengan dialect (which is located in the west of North Korea). And most Koreans in Heilongjiang (a province northeast of Jilin province) have their linguistic roots in Kyengsang dialect (which is located in the southeast of South Korea).

Dialect Pivot Table

	Main Location	Speakers(m)	Base Dialect	Origin of Dialect
Yanbian Korean	Jilin (northeast China)	0.92	Hamkyeng dialect-based	East of North Korea
Phyengan Variety	Liaoning (northeast China)	0.23	Phyengan dialect-based	West of North Korea
Kyengsang Variety	Heilongjiang (northeast China)	0.45	Kyengsang dialect-based	Southeast of South Korea
The Standard South Korean	Seoul, South Korea	12.20	Seoul dialect	Seoul, South Korea

In my field work in Liaoning Province two years ago, I observed multiple cases of inter-dialectal contact. In Tieling Korean middle school, a Kyengsang dialect speaking teacher taught a class of children mostly from a village that speaks Phyengan dialect. Subsequently, many of these students developed an accent that was somewhat in between Kyengsang and Phyengan. I also observed in Yanbian some Kyengsang and Phyengan families whose accents have already completely shifted to Hamkyeng Do-based one, the variety that is used by Yanbian Korean.

In other words, it is necessary to point out that language contact in this paper is not only an ongoing inter-languages process, but also an inter-

dialects one.

Contact with Hankwuk mal (South Korean) is a recent issue. It will be observed in more details in chapter 4.

4. Multilingualism

Before the observation on the multilingualism of the Korean community in China is made, two points should be cleared first. One is the concept of multilingualism in this paper, and the other is inter-relationship of various dialects of the Korean language.

The speech repertoires of every individual under multilingualism are in fact diverse. The differences in competence in the various codes "might range from command of a few lexical items, formulaic expressions such as greetings, and rudimentary conversational skills all the way to excellent command of the grammar and vocabulary and specialized register and styles."ⁱⁱⁱ

In this part, I aim to analyze how the linguistic situations such as language prestige, the potential and vital factors as the principle on textbook editing, language choice and language use have been changing for the Chinese Koreans over the last two decades.

The different codes those are involved in this ongoing multilingualism are the following:

Yanbian Korean (Hamkyeng Do dialect-based), Phyengyang Korean (the standard North Korean), Seoul Korean (Seoul Korean and Hankwuk mal, are both considered as the standard South Korean here), Phyengan Do dialect, Kyengsang Do dialect and popular foreign languages in China such as English and Japanese.

① The changing prestige

ⁱⁱⁱ Sridhar 1996:50.

Of all the Korean dialects, Yanbian Korean had been most closely associated until the 1970s with Phyengyang Korean, the standard Korean in North Korea. This was mostly the result of political and ideological alliance between China and North Korea. This political and ideological alliance led to the Chinese government's unofficial decree of what constituted standard Korean. Chinese Premier Zhou En-lai stated at a policy meeting on June 28, 1963 that Yanbian Korean should conform to Phyengyang Korean, not Seoul or South Korean. Zhou's statement was interpreted as China's official stand on the Korean language standardization, and had been followed by radio, press, TV, and educational institutions.

Yanbian Korean conformed to Phyengyang Korean from the 60s, and Phyengyang Korean had been the standard for a long time in the register of mass media, written forms, even the base of the standardization. However, since the majority of the Yanbian Koreans have roots in Hamkyeng Do in North Korea, Yanbian Koreans have a strong Hamkyeng accent which is different from Phyengyang Korean. The Korean language spoken in Yanbian is Hamkyeng Do dialect-based variety.

Lee (1986)^{iv} stated, : "The Korean language used in Yanbian is much influenced by North Korean terminology and pronunciation which are distinguishable from South Korean usage. Hence the spoken Korean of Yanbian students has three attributes—a strong Hamgyong^v accent, North Korean terms and expressions, and transliterated Chinese terms. While Koreans in Liaoning Province tend to have a Pyongan^{vi} accent, many in Heilongjiang Province speak Kyongsang^{vii} dialect. The efforts to eliminate the persistent use of Korean regional dialects and to standardize the Korean language used in China have been ineffective."

The situations described by Lee (1986) have changed over in the past

^{iv} Lee 1986:147.

^v I romanized as Hamkyeng.

^{vi} I romanized as Phyengan.

^{vii} I romanized as Kyongsang.

two decades after 1988 Seoul Olympics, especially in the last ten years after the diplomatic relation was established between South Korea and China in 1992. South Korean business presence in China is rapidly changing the perception of both Han Chinese of Chinese Koreans and Chinese Koreans of themselves. South Korean accent, i.e. Seoul accent, and South Korean culture are making not only deep inroads into Chinese Korean's lexicon and daily life, South Korean pop culture is also becoming tremendously popular with China's mainstream society.

The degree of inroad that South Korea has made into China can be exemplified by the adoption of a new Chinese term for Korean language. The official term for Korean language in Chinese is "Chaoxian Yu" (Language of Korea); it is now "Hanguo Yu" (Language of South Korea). Subsequently, many Chinese Koreans in metropolises like Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenyang like to claim to the Han Chinese that they speak "Hanguo Yu" not "Chaoxian yu." To other fellow Koreans or South Koreans, many would say that they speak "Hankwuk mal," ("Language of South Korea" in Korean), not "Cosen mal" ("Language of Korea" in Korean) as they have done in the past. Many people say their language have already shifted to South Korean, though it again defaults back to their own dialect-based variety when they talk inside their own community.

The Korean Sunday School in Beijing is a good case in point. Huang Youfu, an anthropology professor at Beijing's National Ethnic University, founded a Korean Sunday School, "Beijing Chaoxian Yu Xuexiao" (Beijing Korean Language School) in Beijing upon his return as a visiting scholar at Harvard in 1989. When China and South Korea established diplomatic relations in 1992, Huang immediately changed the name of the school to "Beijing Hanguo Yu Xuexiao" (Beijing South Korean Language School). It now already has eleven branch schools in China. The teachers in Beijing school are mostly professor Huang's Ph.D. students from South Korea who work there voluntarily. And local branch schools are also instructed by Korean-Chinese. In a similar fashion, most universities with Korean language studies programs have now renamed their programs South Korean Language Studies programs.

I conducted an informal survey last summer in Yanji, and discovered that the local Koreans prefer South Korean TV programming, receivable locally with a satellite receiver and available in video cassettes and CDs, over local programming. The book market shows a similar result. People enjoy reading South Korean books. Many South Korean books can be found in the local bookstores and libraries and many Korean goods are also readily available in the local market. "I feel like I'm in Seoul," one South Korean visitor to Yanji recently observed.

② Issue on textbooks

Textbooks play a fundamental and critical role in education. A study on language is not complete without touching upon the impact and influence textbooks have on language.

The Korean Educational Press in Yanbian publishes most of the textbooks used in the public Korean schools. Overall, fifty to sixty per cent of textbooks are indigenously written or edited (by the Chinese Koreans), with the balance coming from other sources such as Chinese or foreign sources. South Korean content has been slowly but surely crawling into the structure since the early 90s when China and South Korea normalized relations. According to Yanbian Educational Press, they intend to incorporate about fifteen per cent of South Korean content into their new textbooks while eliminating the North Korean content going forward.

On September 30, 2003's Jilin Daily (Korean edition), Jilin University, a Chinese ivy leaguer, commemorated the tenth Anniversary of its South Korean Department (S.K.D. hereafter). While showcasing many of its achievements over the period, Jilin University's S.K.D. touted the fact that its textbooks and teaching materials were all provided by and/or jointly developed with South Korea's Universities such as Hanyang.

③ Changing leaders

The way leading to multilingualism is not a homogenous process. People

change at different paces according to their abilities and experiences and their linguistic and intellectual levels. But what is clear is that language shift and change is greatly influenced by people or group of people with influence.

Many news anchors and entertainers in Yanbian have had exposure to both South Korea and North Korea, and some even have had training either in Pyongyang or in Seoul, North and South Korea's respective capitals. However, many of them tend to adopt and use the South Korean accent and style in their work more often. As a result, some radio and TV programs in Yanbian appear to be copycats of some popular South Korean programs. Pyongyang Korean has lost its clout and following and does not look like it will be a language of choice for Koreans in China any more in the near future.

Currently more than 5,000 South Koreans live in Yanbian's eight cities. Yanji city alone has about 2,500 South Koreans. According to an article in China Daily, Aug. 26, 2002, there are 200,000 South Koreans in China now, of which 150,000 are business people and their families and 50,000 students. A survey found that about the same number of Korean-Chinese are currently in South Korea.

South Korea is doing its part in expanding its cultural influence among China's Koreans. They are making tangible efforts to integrate Yanbian Korean into Hankwuk mal, family of South Korean language centered around Seoul accent. Some anchors started training elementary and middle school Korean language teachers from Yanbian through intensive summer and winter course from three years ago. And, they plan to expand this program to include Korean government officials and civil servants. It is not an easy task to change a language even at the speech level in a short time. But their efforts seem to produce some tangible results.

In a survey I conducted in Yanbian University of Science and Technology (hereafter YUST)^{vii}, most students answered they are

^{vii} It was founded by Korean-Americans in 1992, and is funded by overseas Korean foundations. Most teachers are from abroad, and the main teaching languages are

multilingual at least in four languages: Chinese, Korean, English, and Japanese (some answered with more). Some of them who participated in an exchange program in South Korea speak Hankwuk mal impeccably.

From the fieldwork I conducted in the villages in Liaoning Province, I learned that most young and middle-aged people have gone to South Korea or the metropolises to work leaving mostly the elders and children to tend the field. The villagers, especially the elders, have preserved their dialect relatively well. But, as the South Korean TV programs become their main source of entertainment, they begin to acquire different speech recognition patterns. A young man, who guided me to the village, worked for a South Korean company in Shenyang (the capital city of Liaoning Province) and spoke excellent Hankwuk mal. His father, who was already in his fifties and worked with various South Koreans, was also very fluent in Hankwuk mal, even though they speak typical Pyengan dialect-based variety among them.

When Yanbian Koreans and South Koreans first came into contact about a decade ago, they could not understand one another well due to the different attributes in their accents, vocabulary, expressions, and socio-cultural gap. Nowadays, South Korean mass media such as live TV programs can be viewed and are watched by many Yanbian Korean families. South Korean culture has become part of daily life for the Koreans in Yanbian and in China. It is safe to say that the majority of Koreans in China are in fact multi-lingual, at the very least they are all multi-lingual in speech recognition.

④ Beyond the choice

In a multilingual society, deciding what language (or variety) to use is more than a merely linguistic issue. Every language choice and use is a claim of a social identity of an individual. Linguistic behavior is a process of socialization, and when the agents are adults, as in this study, such

Korean, English, and Chinese.

behavior becomes a process of re-socialization. This socialization process through linguistic behavior has sociological significance as it impacts human development. It is going to be viewed in more detailed context from an ethnolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives later.

What is necessary to note here briefly are:

a. Idealistically, Chinese and Yanbian Korean should be stratum. But pragmatically, Chinese is superstratum, and Yanbian Korean is substratum.

b. Idealistically, Yanbian Korean and Hankuk mal should be stratum. But pragmatically, Hankuk mal is superstratum, and Yanbian Korean is substratum.

Under this kind of framework, Chinese and Hankuk mal are becoming the languages of choice while Yanbian Korean seems to be evolving into a potentially endangered language.

5. Language Change

Although Korean and Chinese do not belong to the same language family, and are typologically different, throughout the long historical and cultural contact with Chinese, Korean has borrowed a large number of Chinese words, characters, and established sound system of the Chinese character words in Korean, which is similar to those of Middle Chinese.

Based on this historical background, it might be said that the contemporary contact between the Korean language and Chinese language, which continues today in China, is in a certain sense the second and real contact. The historical connection between the two languages makes the interaction between the two fairly smooth, but the changes in their relations, particularly between Hankuk mal and Chinese, makes the interaction more subtle. Unlike the first contact when Korean used Chinese characters to construct its written language, this time Korean language is a complete stand-alone language.

From the social context of language contact, I have observed some general changes as the followings.

① Phonemic borrowing

Although phonetically the consonants and vowels are much different between the Korean language and Chinese, due to the historical contact-induced borrowings, it is still not difficult to find the similar or symbolic ones to serve as the counterparts. That is why concerns should be put on the ones that are completely absent in the Korean phonemic system.

Kim (1990) presents some Chinese loan words and describes the phonetic differences of the similar sounds between Korean and Chinese, showing the phonetic influence from Chinese onto Korean. But it seems that the concepts of code-switching and borrowing are not yet clear-cut here. And, there is not any account related to the phonemic level.

There is no phoneme /f/ in the Korean language. For a long time in China, nowadays still in South and North Korean, /p^h/ is the only possible counterpart for /f/. But, what I want to observe here is that the Korean language in China has borrowed /f/ from Chinese into its phonemic system, and it is possible to be demonstrated by the minimal pairs as follows:

- (1) a. /fǎŋci/ ^{ix} 'house'
- b. /p^hǎŋci/ 'a fatty'
- c. /p'ǎŋci/ 'stick'

② The hypercorrection of accent

Though lexical borrowing happens easily, accent borrowing does not. For accent is a system of unconscious rules about the native language that only a native possesses. This is well demonstrated in Yanbian Korean in terms of the significant difference between the accent of Yanbian Korean and Seoul Korean.

a. Yanbian Korean is a pitch-accent language. The total number of phonological accent patterns for any noun of n syllables is equal to n+1, but the number of phonetic pitch patterns for any noun of n syllables is equal to n, for phonologically unaccented pattern

○ ...○○ and rightmost accented pattern ○...○○[´] are realized as

^{ix} /' / indicates accent.

the same phonetic pitch pattern as L...LH.

- b. The rightmost accented pattern ○...○[´] is the default one in Yanbian Korean

It is why most loan words from South Korean are usually automatically recognized as ○● (○ indicates low-pitched syllable, ● indicates high-pitched one)

- (2) a. sa.in 'sign'
○●
b. sya.wa 'shower'
○●
c. si.kor 'countryside'
○●
d. kim.pap 'seaweeds rolled rice'
○●

However, Seoul Korean is not a phonologically pitch-accent language. It prefers the first or (and) the second syllable stressed or pitched as ●○ or ●● and as the original Seoul Korean, the above four words should be as ●○.

- (3) a. sa.in 'sign'
●○
b. sya.wa 'shower'
●○
c. si.kor 'countryside'
●○
d. kim.pap 'seaweeds rolled rice'
●○

But with the awareness of Seoul Korean, Yanbian Korean speakers sometimes pronounce the original ○● to ●○ as hypercorrection.

- (4) a. in.sayng 'life'
●○

b. ye.hayng 'trip'



c. mu.sik 'ignorant'



③ Toward a realization of suffix “-yo.”

“-yo” is the most popular suffix in South Korean as one of the polite expressions. Yanbian Korean does not have this realization at the speech level. They are gradually acquiring this “-yo” suffix as the sentence ends from contact with South Korean. It is the most distinguished and common mark in Seoulization.

6. Conclusion

The language of ethnic Koreans in China has not been yet studied from a socio-linguistic perspective. This paper is a preliminary attempt in breaking that ground.

With looking through the minority language policy on the ethnic Korean in China, and observing the language contact situation, we stepped into the discussion on the multilingualism, which is virtually centered by the issue of the Chinese-Korean's South Koreanization. By adding the description of the contact-induced language change, it is possible to say that this paper is providing a full prospect of the Chinese-Korean community from both macro- and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives.

We could see that the Koreans in China are shifting from a stable bilingual state into a multilingual situation now. The challenges presented to the Koreans in China are monumental. They need to understand and learn how to develop their language through interaction with other languages while upholding its integrity and indigenesness. Language and language changes always have reach far beyond the linguistics boundary. These changes are a process of socialization and re-socialization between cultures, and will have a significant ramification for Korean community's development in China.

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(Abstract)

Введение в социолингвистическое изучение языка этнических корейцев Китая

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Данная работа является попыткой социолингвистического осмысления языка этнических корейцев Китая.

Исследование рассматривает динамику социокультурных, политических и экономических изменений, которые последние пятьдесят лет испытывали около двух миллионов корейцев Китая.

Одним из основных эффектов этих изменений может стать перспектива «южнокореизации» корейцев Китая и их языка. Автор проанализировал языковую политику Китая в отношении меньшинств, в частности, в отношении этнических корейцев, и ситуацию с языковой коммуникацией корейцев в Китае, и предлагает дискуссионные положения о многоязычии, опирающиеся на языковой феномен влияния Южной Кореи на язык корейцев Китая. Описание изменений в языковой коммуникации, происходящих под влиянием китайского языка и языка корейцев Южной Кореи, дает возможность представить полную картину языковой среды этнических корейцев в Китае с точки зрения одновременно микро- и макросоциолингвистики.

Движение от стабильно билингвистической ситуации к многоязычному обществу - не просто лингвистическая проблема. Это процесс постоянной социализации и ресоциализации культуры. Следует ожидать, что этот процесс будет оказывать дальнейшее влияние на развитие корейской общины в Китае.

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